DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 186 979 EA 012 563

AUTHOR Ortiz, Flora Ida
TITLE Career Change and Mobility for Minorities and Women in School Administration.
PUB DATE Apr 80
NOTE 42p.; Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association (Boston, MA, April 7-11, 1980).

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Administrators; *Educational Administration; Elementary Secondary Education; Employed Women; Ethnography; *Females; Hispanic Americans; *Minority Groups; *Principals; *Superintendents
IDENTIFIERS *California

ABSTRACT

This study reports on career change and mobility for women and minorities in school administration. Descriptive data were collected between 1974 and 1979 in southern California school districts, using an ethnographic method. Interview data were collected from 350 school administrators. The first section describes women in school administration, including women as specialists, as elementary principals, and in token and line positions. The second section examines minorities in school administration (including Hispanic female administrators) and minorities as principals, superintendents, and central office personnel. (Author/LD)

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CAREER CHANGE AND MOBILITY FOR MINORITIES AND WOMEN IN SCHOOL ADMINISTRATION

Flora Ida Ortiz

University of California, Riverside

This paper was presented at the American Educational Research Association in Boston in April 1980.

ED186979

EA 012 563

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ABSTRACT

This ethnographic study reports on career change and mobility for minorities and women in school administration. Two types of women are found in educational administration: those who occupy the specialist, supervisory and elementary principalships and those who occupy the secondary principalship; assistant, associate, and deputy superintendencies; and the superintendency.

There are two types of minorities within the school system: those who entered before the mid-sixties and early seventies and those who entered during and after. Most minorities in schools today are recent members. They occupy positions within special projects. Few minorities occupy the regular school site and central office line positions. Minority principals are likely to be located in minority schools.

It is concluded that these practices lead to career differences between women, minorities and others.

CAREER CHANGE AND MOBILITY FOR MINORITIES AND WOMEN

IN SCHOOL ADMINISTRATION

Data for the study reported upon were collected between September 1974 and April 1979. Most of the data were collected in Southern California school districts. However, some follow-up data collection extended to Northern California, Texas, and Arizona.

The method for data collection was ethnographic. Extensive observation of school sites, administrators at work, meetings, informal gatherings, and other settings was conducted. Interview data were collected from 350 school administrators. Administrators were defined as those who were occupying school positions which required the California State Administrative Credential.

The school administrators consisted of 127 women, 233 men, 55 Hispanic women, 17 Black women, 20 Hispanic men, 15 Black men, 55 white women, and 188 white men. The various positions represented were: 15 vice-principals, 82 elementary principals, 69 secondary principals, 22 directors, 3 coordinators, 8 specialists, 8 supervisors, 27 special projects coordinators, 2 special projects specialists, 12 special projects supervisors, 2 area administrators, 17 associate superintendents, 22 assistant superintendents, 23 deputy superintendents and 20 superintendents.

Interview data were also collected from other school personnel. A total of 48 persons were interviewed consisting of 7 school board members, 8 parents, 2 teacher aides, 2 secretaries and 29 teachers. Five conversational reports with students are also included.

Thirty-one school districts are represented. The reason for this extensive coverage is that as subjects were located according to position, their placement was in any of a number of school districts. The districts ranged in size from enrollments of 2893 to 721,043. All of the school districts which are represented contain a central office.

The inspection of documents provided information regarding official job descriptions and expectations. Other written materials included personnel directories, listings, vacancy notices, and proposals for various programs.

Women in School Administration

The structure of schools has been thought to consist of students, teachers, and administrators, certificated and noncertificated personnel, and bureaucratic and professional types. The present report shows that the structure can also be seen to consist of three groups: females instructing students, males administering adults, and minorities instructing and containing other minorities. The creation of this structure has led to varying careers among the three groups.

The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (1977) reports that a total United States (7,248 school districts and 69,439 schools) full-time staff in 1975 was 3,590,411. Of these, 1,273,905 (35.5%) were male, whereas, 2,317,306 (64.5%) were female. 3,001,134 (83.6%) were white and 589,277 (16.4%) were minority. To indicate the placement of these groups, the same report shows that out of 1,004,641 elementary teachers, 168,258 (16.7%) were males, whereas 836,383 (83.3%) were female. 865,430 (86.2%) were white and 139,211 (13.9%) were minority. In contrast, out of 43,208 central office managers, 36,690 (84.9%) were male and 6,518 (15.1%) were

female. 39,853 (92.2%) were white and 3,355 (7.8%) were minority. Out of 72,285 principals, 63,015 (87.2%) were male and 9,270 (12.8%) were female. 65,208 (90.2%) were white and 7,077 (9.7%) were minority.

A more equitable distribution is indicated among secondary teachers. Out of 902,103 secondary teachers, 488,401 (54.1%) were male and 413,702 (45.9%) were female. 808,149 (89.6%) were white and 93,944 (10.4%) were minority.

The above figures starkly reflect the structure that exists in school organizations. This structure contributes to the establishment of distinct careers for the three groups even though the starting point for all is teaching.

Spradley and Mann (1975) state in their study of cocktail waitresses that "the most frequent method of creating a division of labor employs male and female differences" (31). They explain

> A latent function of this structure is that routine tasks become symbols of sexuality. The values that underlie femininity and masculinity are restated continuously...merely by the act of working. [The result is that] as a symbol of one's sex, work is transformed into a ritual activity that announces to the audience of [parents, community, and others] the significant differences our culture attaches to sexual gender (34-35).

In order to create and maintain the structure in public schools, processes begin during the teaching period. When women enter teaching, they are expected to remain there. Three features aid in the perpetuation of this. Women continue to be prominant in schools, particularly at the elementary level. Second, it is perceived that women are appropriate for teaching children. Third, those women who express desires for administrative posts are restrained in one way or another.

The first means by which the expectations for women are actualized is through the granting of tenure. The second means is through the provision

of movement from less desirous teaching posts to better schools. The third means is by requiring women to excel in some content area in order to depart from the classroom, while men are more likely to engage in GASing. Finally, women depart from the classroom as specialists rather than as principals.

Female specialists who wish to advance do so by becoming supervisors. This practice shows that the greatest number of women in educational administration are at the central office. They are engaged in pupil personnel services, instructional and supervisory areas, and general administration (Meskin, 1978: 325). Scriven and Nunnery (1974) also show that these women tend to be currently married.

Those women who become principals tend to be concentrated at the elementary level. They are likely to be situated in the larger cities. They are also older than males. For example, Hemphill, Griffiths and Frederickson (1962:66) showed women to be approximately ten years older on the average than men. Contrasted with supervisors, in which 70% of them were married, approximately 50% of the women elementary principals were single. The Gross and Trask (1976) report cites that 63% of the women were single.

Gross and Trask state that the women principals begin their working years strongly committed to teaching. Her eye is rarely on career advancement. When, often by a fluke, she is promoted to a principalship, she shows greater ability and self-confidence in directing the instructional program than men do. Again, because she is not seeking promotion from her present rank, she commits herself wholeheartedly to the role of principal and is able to master the job in a highly competent fashion (Meskin, 1978:336-337).

Ortiz (1979) reports that women aspiring towards an administrative career cannot be as explicit about it as males. Women advance because they excel in content areas. Since they have displayed outstanding competence, a women is considered for a principalship during an unforeseen occasion

The Specialist

The specialist role differs from teaching in several respects. First, there is at least partial departure from the classroom and instruction. Second, the role changes the relationship between them and other teachers. Third, it is a post which provides increased visibility and schedule flexibility.

There are also differences between specialists. Those specialists who engage in instruction are not as likely to become administrators. Those specialists placed at the central office are also more readily accessible to the latter group. Specialists can also advance to supervision and thereby hold higher ranking staff positions within the central office hierarchy.

The supervisory post is usually acquired as a reward for work well done as a specialist. They are likely to be those who were housed at the central office. They seldom come directly from the classroom.

Supervisors continue to deal primarily with instructional matters. Their significant others are principals and teachers. This position most normally provides lateral movement and a secure career at the central office. On rare occasions, they may be promoted into the assistant, associate, or deputy superintendency of instruction.

Elementary Principals

Women who become elementary principals are similar to those who serve as specialists and supervisors. They are more likely to be elementary principals if they're situated in larger cities. In contrast to males, they obtain their positions much later (Hemphill, et al., 1962).

Women principals decide on a teaching career much earlier than the men. Teaching is also their first career choice. Women also entertain the idea of becoming a principal at a far later age than men do. In contrast to males, females are frequently "pushed" into the principalship by sponsors who encourage them professionally or else they arrive there by a fortuitous accident. Males actively seek the principalship for reasons related to occupational and social mobility and increase in income. Once women attain the principalship, they are less likely to show ambition for advancement.

Two consequences result from the practices described above. The organizational members are not provided with a clearly legitimate reason for placing women in an administrative post. The second is that women learn to behave in a passive manner regarding their career options. The first consequence serves to justify moves directed at removing women from administrative posts. The second serves to retain women in those positions most conducive to passivity such as the elementary principalship.

There are two types of women found in educational administration: those who occupy the specialist, supervisory, and elementary principalships and those who occupy the secondary principalship, associate, assistant, and deputy superintendencies, and the superintendency. The first group has just been presented. The second group will now be described.

The Line Positions

Because men command the building site administrative positions as principals and the line positions at the central office with the attendant occupation of the superintendency, a structure is created which has severe consequences for those women who do obtain the secondary principalships and line positions of the central office.

One of the consequences is that women are disproportionately under-represented. Kanter (1977) presents an explanation of proportional representations of kinds of people.

> Skewed groups are those in which there is a preponderance of one type over another, up to a ratio of perhaps 85:15. The numerically dominant types also control the group and its culture in enough ways to be labeled "dominants." The few of another type in a skewed group can appropriately be called "tokens." [For]... they are often treated as representative of their category, as symbols, rather than individuals. If the absolute size of the skewed group is small, tokens can also be solos, the only one of their kind present, but even if there are two tokens in a skewed group, it is difficult for them to generate an alliance that can become powerful in the group (208).

Tokens

Women in educational administration find themselves in skewed groups if they enter the line positions. As members of a skewed group, their quality of participation is distinct from that of white males and other females. They are famous within the school district. For example, female deputy superintendents were used as examples of how not to be as women and as illustrative of the exaggerated "administrator" type. An instance is the following.

> A female teacher said, "I don't want to ever be an administrator. When I look at Dr. Denton and when I hear about her coldness and how bright she is, I know I'd never be happy being like that. She's not feminine at all" (December 1976).

> Another male teacher said, "She's just like an administrator. She strides through our grounds. When she meets with us, she's so impersonal, businesslike and efficient. She dresses as if she's in some corporate meeting and her hairdo is always so severe" (December, 1976).
>
> One of her subordinates, a supervisor said, "She's demanding: She wants perfection. She's too much! Of all the administrators in this district she's the ultimate. She's here early; she is always ready, and she leaves late. Sometimes I feel she knows more about my work than I do" (December, 1976).

"Tokens perform their jobs under public and symbolic conditions different from those of dominants" (Kanter, 1977:212). When female administrators err, it is widely publicized; it is a source of conversation for a lengthy period of time throughout the district. For example, an assistant superintendent approved a release of a report which had incomplete data. The report was later used as the basis for developing a program. Because some figures to be used in calculating the cost were not in the report, the plans for the program were inaccurate. When it was discovered that the fault lay in the incomplete report, the assistant superintendent was severely criticized. That incident was used as an example for several years to warn personnel about making mistakes (February, 1975-79).

As "public figures", these women cannot display emotions. Kanter (1977) refers to this as projecting "public persona that hide inner feelings" (214). For example, an incident occurred during an administrators' meeting in which an issue was being hotly contested. Some principals wanted to provide smoking facilities in their schools and others did not. A female principal presented her opinion and in the course of the presentation, her voice rose and excitedly advocated a particular plan. During her presentation, the associate superintendent for personnel interrupted her

and said, "Joyce, if you can't present your viewpoint calmly now, it might be best to wait until you can. We can't be too emotional about this" (March, 1977). Later, a group of principals, male and female, stated, "Everyone was emotional about the smoking item. Why was Joyce asked to be calmer?" (March, 1977). Therefore, successful administrative women are expected to be calm. Their public performance is more open to scrutiny.

Another common characteristic considered to be problematic for women is that they talk too much. One of the first things women are warned about is "to listen carefully, but keep quiet!" One newly appointed female supervisor said, "I hadn't been at my desk two hours before Dr. Harris came over to talk to me. His first point was, "You don't have time to visit here. You don't have time to repeat what you hear, and you don't have time to offer your analysis of situations. The thing to remember is to listen, to do, and remain silent" (March, 1979). A female secondary principal said when she was relating her first days on the job,

> Just before we left for the executive meeting Dr. Brand called me to stop by his office. While there he said, "What we discuss in these meetings is confidential. The most important thing is not to repeat our meeting proceedings. For women, one of the first things they're tested on is to determine if they can keep secrets. Can you?" (November, 1977).

In summary, women are warned about being silent and keeping secrets.

The most serious professional consequence of the structure presented above is that tokens don't have to work hard to have their presence noticed, but they do have to work hard to have their achievements noticed (Kanter, 1977:216). There is disproportionate "focus on appearance and other nonability traits" (217). For example, in describing a recently appointed female assistant superintendent, a principal said, "She's

attractive, dresses smartly, wears her hair short and in its natural color, and above all is well proportioned" (March, 1976).

As tokens, women in educational administration respond in varying ways. One is to "over-achieve" and publicly perform in a manner to minimize organizational and peer concerns. These individuals are outstanding, exceptional and able to perform well under close observation. They have also developed skills in impressions management that permit them to retain control over the extra consequences loaded onto their acts. They are able to maintain a delicate balance between always doing well and not generating peer resentment. The result of these exacting demands is that successful women are those slightly older than their male peers. In addition to their strong technical backgrounds, they have also had extensive experience as token women among males. These are the women who may become superintendents. Kanter (1977) claims that the success of such women is most likely to increase the prospects for hiring more women in the future; they work for themselves and as symbols (Kanter, 1977:219).

What we find, then, is a few women who are socialized in the company of males. This results in specific attitudes and behaviors. First, these women strongly resist admitting they've been discriminated against. They resist describing their careers and the manner by which they obtained their positions. In short, they become very cautious individuals.

Second, these women are highly achievement-oriented individuals. They personally set out to "prove" they can do something. Third, they are keenly aware of their support within the organization. Most of these women are strongly supported by a powerful organizational superior.

The superior is usually a principal, superintendent, or a university professor. Fourth, these women are used to difficulties at each advancement level. In the present study, all associate, deputy and assistant superintendents, and superintendents could cite some example of resistance from the organization each time they were promoted. They learned to expect it, accept it, and be prepared to battle for their advancement. Fifth, women administrators are reluctant to express further aspirations. They speak in terms of "doing their best now." Furthermore, their coworkers could not cite instances in which these persons complained, asked for promotions, or expressed aspirations. The women were perceived as highly competent, exceptions, dependable, and probably capable of being superintendents. For example, one superintendent, in describing a female associate superintendent, stated,

> Jane has been the best thing for this district during this period. She has worked hard with the integration forces. She has helped develop a curriculum plan in bilingual education. She has helped to keep the morale of this school district high. I know she can be a successful superintendent, but I don't expect her to toot her own horn. I will do it for her (May, 1977).

This person is now superintendent. However, during the three years of interaction with her, she never once expressed desires for the position even though she did everything else which was required to obtain it.

Women, being unable to independently seek advancement, must subtly allow superior males to advance them. Males, on the other hand, even though subject to the same mechanism, were heard to loudly proclaim desires for the superintendency, to inform others they were applying for the positions, and in general, alert others of their ambitions.

In brief, for women career socialization is much more severe than for men. The primary reason for this is that not only must women change due to the demands of the organizational setting, but also due to the cultural aspects of women. Women have first of all been socialized as women in a culturally defined manner. For those women who have been successfully socialized in this way, departing from this cultural norm is difficult at best. Furthermore, since the organizational demands are based on a male orientation, cultural considerations related to women are minimal if not altogether absent. Therefore, women are required to change in two fundamental ways as they advance through the hierarchy. They must change in regard to the culturally socialized woman and in regard to the demands placed by the new work setting.

In conclusion, women who wish to establish careers must change regarding the cultural expectations for women. At the same time, however, they must behave under certain conditions as women. The second change which is necessary is that they must change their perspectives as organizational participants in the same way that white males do. As principals, they must consider adults, management, and their school as the focal centers. As central office assistant, associate, and deputy superintendents, they must consider the school districts' policies and ultimately integrate their personal needs into the organizational demands.

Those who are successful are those women who view themselves professionally, who have had much experience working with men, and who are personally motivated to be successful in these types of settings.

The most severe barriers for women are: 1) the initial departure from teaching; 2) occupying those positions which don't provide opportunities

for upward mobility such as the elementary principalship; 3) losing out to white males in the competition for line positions; and 4) coming up the wrong career path, as for example, being a specialist rather than a principal.

Minorities in School Administration

As was indicated earlier, minorities participate in educational organizations in very small numbers. Beyond that, they are situated in particular types of places.

It has been seen how admission into educational administration is gained through teaching. This is because teaching is the entry level position for most certificated school personnel. The one exception to this is in the case of minorities.

There are two groups of minorities within the school system: those who entered before the mid-sixties and early seventies and those who entered during and after. Those who entered before the mid-sixties began teaching and possessed regular credentials as did all others. Those who entered the school district during the mid-sixties and seventies may have begun in another capacity besides teaching. Many entered without teaching credentials or any of the usual requirements for certificated teachers. They came in as counselors and teacher aides. Training and experience opportunities were provided so that in time these persons could earn regular teaching credentials. Many chose to do so.

Minorities enter teaching in the elementary schools, physical education, Spanish, and ethnic studies in greater numbers than in other areas. As other newly appointed teachers, they are placed in the most undesirable

schools. However, unlike Becker's (1951) Chicago teachers who could choose to move to "better" schools, minorities "being of an ethnic type" are destined to remain in the undesirable schools.

Also, these teachers are perceived as more capable of teaching their own minority group. Those teachers who enter teaching through a course such as chemistry, mathematics, or music are encouraged to pick up classes to teach "their own." The consequence is that those teachers who entered in a nonteaching capacity are likely to remain there. Those who entered by teaching a course normally taken by minority students are likely to remain there, and those who entered teaching another course are persuaded to teach courses which contain minority enrollments. The net effect is that minority teachers instruct minority students in minority courses.

The justification for these practices is that minority teachers provide role models. The intent is to provide minority adults to control minority students and thereby improve the organizational conditions.

Other consequences from this practice are that school personnel perceive minority teachers as ethnic teachers rather than as subject or grade level instructors. This, as Charters (1964) points out, tends to limit minority teachers from interacting with others. This is due to the fundamental structure based on subject and grade level assignment which is created among teachers. Those minority persons who wish to depart from the classroom do so through special projects administration. Special projects administation is composed of those responsible for programs normally externally supported to provide special aid and service to

particular student groups. Minority students are primary targets. Within special projects, many positions of varying titles and responsibilities are created to carry out the mandates of the numerous programs.

Several factors contribute to separating special projects administration from the rest of the school organization. First, the school programs encompassed in this structure exist through the funding provided by external agencies. Second, the positions created to handle these programs are temporary and dependent on continuing funds. Third, the assumption of a special projects post is not viewed as a promotional move or as a reward granted for outstanding accomplishments. Therefore, occupying these positions is precarious in terms of establishing a career in special projects.

In addition to the various specialist, supervisor, and coordinator posts, there is also the area administrator position. This position serves as a link between the school district and the ethnic community. Its purpose is to maintain a harmonious relationship between the community and the school. The office is acquired as a contractual assignment. The person interacts heavily with community members, attends local functions, speaks at community gatherings, listens to community members' concerns, and in general serves as a school district representative. He aids in preserving calm in the school district's ethnic community.

The highest post in special projects is that of director. The person is housed in the central office in a private office with a private secretary and telephone service. This person has the greatest opportunity to interact with nonminority adults. There are several features which contribute to this. To the extent that not all minorities are placed within the

same working area, interaction with minorities will increase. To the extent that the position requires dialogue with the associate superintendents, superintendent, and school board members, interaction with nonminorities will increase. Because the school district's responsibility for the special projects programs is lodged in the director, the person needs to maintain a constant, continuing relationship with the superintendent, his associates, and the school board.

Positions allocated to minorities are of various sorts. The most important characteristic is that with the exception of the top, usually the directorship position, all other positions do not lead to careers outside the special projects structure. They may lead to higher hierarchical posts within the same structure, but because they are defined as temporary, they are not likely to lead anywhere else.

There are, however, some opportunities afforded to minorities who would be denied any administrative experience in any other setting. First, these positions do permit the person to depart from teaching. Second, the post increases interaction with adults. Third, it affords increased visibility among minorities throughout the district. Fourth, as long as funds are available for these special projects, these persons are employed in posts which are better when compared to other minority possibilities.

The greatest opportunity is available to the highest post, the director. Because this office and the entire structure of special projects is dependent on external funds, there is a certain independence from the parent organization. Those directors who can continue to generate and increase funds can gradually assume considerable influence within the district. They can see to it that those employed within the structure

benefit in specific ways to create loyalty and a following for them as well as for the structure. For example, travel funds can be made available to school personnel. Extra services, such as clerical and support services, can be provided as well as especially equipped offices and classrooms. All of these aspects can create a structure which differs from the parent organization.

There is an additional component to this. Since the special projects are designed to align with community interests, the community can also provide a strong political force for it. This is, of course, due to its external support which increases its independence from the parent organization and maximizes structural autonomy.

From the previous passage, it can be seen how power can accrue to the directorship position if certain conditions are met. This power insures that minorities participate in the organization, that they occupy offices within the organization, and that the moneys which are directed to them are spent among them.

This does not, however, insure that minorities are integrated within the organization. In fact, it may have an opposite effect in that the separate groups are strengthened and rigidified. Also, the power that is exerted by minorities is external over their own group. That aspect can create unrest among those who resent better conditions for minorities, but it does not disrupt the existing ties among them. Moreover, since decision-making posts are occupied by others, minorities are effectively immobile. These are severe limitations to the power available to minorities through the occupation of special projects administration.

It has been seen how minorities participate in a limited way within the school organization. The justification which has been provided is that embodied in the following passage from Contreras (1979). He writes,

> A great deal of time and energy [has been spent] in the recruitment of Spanish-surnamed administrators and other personnel. This is partly as a consequence of community pressure, on the assumption that these new personnel would a) be organizational members and provide role models for their ethnic group (models); b) provide recommendations for solutions to educational problems related to Hispanic community groups (expert); c) provide for communication with Hispanic community groups (link); or d) articulate and promote the needs and concerns of Hispanic community groups (advocate) (33).

As members of special projects, they are able to fulfill the above expectations at least to a limited degree.

This, however, does not explain the exclusion of minorities from the regular administrative positions: principal, central office post, and/or superintendent. Inkles (1973), states, "The critical test of the success of the socialization process lies in the ability of the individual to perform well in the statuses--that is, to play the roles--in which he may later find himself" (616).

Inkles (1973) presents four main elements in the socialization matrix:

> The main socialization <u>issue</u>, that is, the typical life condition or social demand which dominates the attention of the socializee and socializers; the <u>agents</u> of socialization, those individuals and social units or organizations which typically play the greatest role in the socialization process; the <u>objectives</u> which these agents set as the goals for successful socialization in each period, that is, the qualities they wish to inculcate and the conditions under which they prefer to train the socializee; and the main <u>task</u> facing the socializee, that is, the problem to be solved or the skill learned as it confronts the socializee from his internal personal perspective (618).

Applying these four elements to minorities, several points can be raised. First, minorities placed in special projects do not face the <u>issue</u>, the school organization, in the same manner that the others do. But

even if they are placed in a regular administrative post, they face an organization in which they are greatly outnumbered and in which they are perceived as different. This results in conditions which, from the start, differ from the conditions faced by others.

The second aspect is that the placement of minorities in special projects means that their socializing agents are minorities. If placed in regular administrative posts, the socializing agents are likely to be members of the majority group. In either case, this difference in socializing agents means that minorities will not be socialized as others, because the majority are being socialized by the majority, while the minority are socialized by the majority.

The third consideration is the objectives. If it is accepted that minorities are to be socialized within their community and are to serve as models, experts, links, and advocates for the community and the school organization, it can be seen that it is efficient and rational to place minorities in special projects administration. In this way, minorities continue to interact with their community, persons from their community can thus use them as models and experts, and the school organization can use them as liaisons and advocates for both parties. But as was seen by the position of the area administrator's temporariness and the practice to limit the participation, an inoperative linkage function between the community and the organization existed. Moreover, the organizational objectives related to career mobility and success are not addressed for minorities. For those minority persons who wish to participate in the educational institution as others, their socialization is deficient if they are contained within special projects.

The fourth condition is the task facing the socializee. The task facing school administators is school administration. Those groups or persons who are denied access to school administration and management tasks will not be socialized properly. Being confined to the special projects tasks not only retains minorities there, but their movement elsewhere in the organization is also constrained.

The socialization process for minorities breaks down in the preparation for the principalship. As was shown in previous chapters, the first administrative post in the school organization is the principalship. Failure to obtain that office denies a candidate an administrative career.

The placement of individuals in the proper contexts to perform the attendant activities is important in socializing them. Becker (1964) describes this in the following passage. He writes,

> The person as he moves in and out of a variety of social situations learns the requirements of continuing in each situation and of success in it. If he has a strong desire to continue, the ability to assess accurately what is required, and can deliver the required performance, the individual turns himself into the kind of person the situation demands (44).

Thus, the problem for minorities seems to be fundamental. While they are placed in minority settings and restrained to special projects, they are unable to receive similar socialization processes which are necessary in school administation. Minorities are hampered in attaining these processes in two different ways: 1) during their teaching experience, and 2) having access to principals who provide counsel and experiences for candidates to progress.

In conclusion, because the acquisition of the first administrative post is dependent on the above, minorities are not likely to advance further.

One reason is that there are very few minorities holding line central office positions and the superintendency. In this study, the sample of minorities included line position holders. Several observations can be reported. First, minorities are likely to move more frequently, but not necessarily upwardly. For example, out of a total of 107 minority persons, 46 held line positions: the principalship, associate superintendency, and superintendency. There were also 16 directors and two area administrators included in the sample. The rest were positions such as coordinator, specialist, and others.

Most of the persons in the sample had recently obtained their posts. The few exceptions included the three Hispanic superintendents and four principals: two Blacks and two Hispanics. The directorships were all dependent on external funds and all of these positions were four or fewer years in duration. The area administrators' positions were held for less than two years. Because this section is concerned with the principalship, line central office positions, and the superintendent, the discussion will deal with them.

The Principalship

As was stated earlier, the two primary ways of obtaining the principalship were in the traditional promotional manner, and in this sample, those who were administrators prior to the mid-sixties had obtained their posts in this way. This included two Hispanic and two Black principals. They were placed in schools where their particular ethnic group was predominant and referred to as "conservative before the movement" type. It was also generally acknowledged they had obtained their positions

because they were highly trained and had earned them. They had been in their school districts a long time or came strongly supported from surrounding school districts.

The greater number of principalships were obtained during the late sixties and early seventies. The position holders were younger than their white colleagues, had less school experience, and in some cases were appointed without any administative preparation. They were appointed from the teaching ranks because a school was in trouble. Usually, this appointment came after the school year had started.

As was stated earlier, when minorities are placed in minority schools, their hierarchical position is below that of the rest of the principals. This is a consquence of several factors. First, minority schools are viewed as different from the rest. Second, the placement of an individual in a minority school is a signal to the rest of the school district that there is a difference between them. Third, the placement of an individual in a minority school is not viewed by the rest of the organization as a reward. Also, others in the organization do not actively seek to be placed in a minority school. Therefore, serving as a minority principal in a minority school means being hierarchically below other principals but above teachers.

Since minorities occupy the principalship without sponsorship, certain dysfunctions occur. First, if the placement of the minority person is prior to the acquisition of the administative credential, the person occupies the position without acceptance by other administrators. Second, the precise expectation being to solve a social problem in the school

rather than to administer or manage serves to restrain the individual. Third, the absence of a sponsor means that the minority person does not have a support system or someone to call on for help. These factors serve to separate the minority principal from the rest of the principals.

This separation takes several forms both formally and informally. One means is not to invite minority principals to administrative meetings. For example, several principals stated something to this effect, "The first indication I got that I wasn't going to be treated like the rest of the administrators was that they had meetings and I wasn't notified. When I inquired I was told that the meeting wasn't concerned with minority children or topics" (March 1978).

All principals are invited to the principals' meetings, but even in this, differences are noted. Minority principals don't actively participate. They are singled out to become minority experts. For example, a Black principal was appointed to a committee to plan the district's means for commemorating Martin Luther's Day. A Hispanic principal was responsible for coordinating the bilingual activities among several schools.

Another indication of this separation is in the appointments to special district-wide committees requiring ethnic expertise but their almost total absence in all other committees. Some explained this was so because many demands were placed upon minority administrators. Some also implied that minority persons just weren't as interested in district-wide affairs as others.

Informally, minorities are likewise excluded from participation. In the present study, none of the minority principals were part of the regular informal groups.

As stated earlier, when minority principals are appointed, it is not expected they will remain in that post for long. Therefore, those relationships, duties, and activities in which they engage are not fostered by other administrators. The result is that minority principals are not aided in the socialization process. They are not expected to change, and they are not expected to be successful administators. There are, however, a few minority principals who are successful in spite of the barriers which exist. They do become successful administrators and do manage to retain their posts. There are even a few who manage to advance.

Keeping in mind that minority principals in many cases obtained their psotions because the school was in trouble, these persons may not seem as indispensable after the difficulty has been settled. In this case, these principals may be pressured to "move on." This is particularly apt to happen if the person did not have an administrative credential at the time the position was assumed. But, it can also happen because as the school gets settled, personnel may complain, and/or the school may appear more favorable to others.

The person who presses for permanency in these principalship positions finds that the system balks by several means. There is an increase in work load, an increase of variety within the work load, the schedule is changed to increase inconveniences, the individual may be placed under very crowded conditions, a recorganization takes place, and finally a negative evaluation is submitted to the central office.

Minorities comply in one of three ways: 1) they quit or move; 2) they successfully comply; 3) they decide to comply in some ways but not in others.

Confrontation follows in both of the latter cases. The organization readily accepts the first option. The second option is usually taken by women. This is viewed as inconceivable by the central office superiors. Women who fulfill this expectation are described as "super gals, wonder women, fools, Queen Bees, and strange ones without friends." Minority males are more likely to select the third option.

Those who select to comply in some ways but not in others pretend they "can handle it." They do this in several forms. They never catch up with their work. They refuse to come early or stay late. Their "visiting" increases if they're isolated or placed in crowded conditions, and they "create the most unpleasant situation when they receive a negative evaluation," said an associate superintendent (April 1977). One minority male described what happened when he was told he was being sent back to the classroom. "I got up, doubled my fist, I swore up and down and scared the ____ out of the associate superintendent. I told him in no uncertain terms that he'd better prepare the rest of his superiors for my coming" (March 1977). This person is still principal.

Another example is that of a minority woman principal who expected to remain in that position indefinitely as a Hispanic junior high school principal. She was told that her contract wasn't being renewed. The main reason was that in the process of straightening out the school, she had made many teachers and others unhappy. She expressed it this way, "What did they expect? That I come in and clean up what was their accumulated garbage and not make enemies? Of course, I made enemies. I straightened out the school in two years. Now, I'm accused of being a difficult person" (July 1978).

The associate superintendent for personnel said of the same person, "Actually, she did very well! We expected her to end up in a psychiatric ward or medical center. She did improve the school, but you see that's not normal. People of her race can't do things like that! People here just don't like or understand her" (September 1978). She had to leave the school district.

From these examples, it can be seen that minorities, even though occupying the principalship position, may be halted in their careers due to the types of expectations held for them.

Out of the 107 minority persons in this sample, 43 were principals. Of these, two Hispanic female mid-high school principals, one Hispanic male high school principal, one mid-high and one high school Black female principals, and one high school Black male principal became assistant superintendents. All of these changes were to another school district. One Hispanic high school principal became a director of special projects within the same school district. Among the Black women principals, one mid-high principal became a special projects director. All other principals remained as principals or were sent back to the classroom or placed in special projects.

Those minority principals who are successful develop a very distinctive role. First, they reveal a sensitivity and an understanding about the problems of minorities without dwelling on hopelessness. Second, they have a repertoire of behaviors which are operant in the company of their ethnic group as well as with other school personnel. There is a sense of appropriateness which they bring to each separate setting or group. For

example, Contreras (1979) reports that in his study, the Spanish-surnamed educational administrators faced situations of potential conflict involving simultaneous but opposing expectations of the educational institution and Hispanic community groups as administrators rather than as ethnic representatives and did not experience deep community rejection because of it. At the same time, they often responded as ethnic advocates and did not, as a consequence, experience deep institutional rejection because of it (39).

Third, these persons are highly independent and strong willed so that those who wish to denigrate them are unable to affect them; and when problems arise, they are able to confront them without requiring "propping from superiors." These individuals are highly aware of the personal consequences for their shortcomings. They know they will lose their jobs readily if they falter. The result is that these persons do not overreact, do not unnecessarily alarm anyone, and do not procrastinate when something needs to be done.

In other words, the socialization process which minorities undergo in trying to be successful administrators enables them to develop a strong sense of mission and accomplishment. A characteristic that becomes evident is an intensity about their work which is absent in those who progress in a more leisurely fashion.

In considering the implications for socialization among minorities, it can be seen that those who are successful administrators have changed in two fundamental ways: 1) they have adapted to the organizational demands to the highest degree, partly to continuously prove their worth,

but primarily in order to hold on to their positions and advance; 2) they have come to terms with their ethnicity and what it means in their lives. Those who are extremely adept can move from one context to another with ease. Those less adept are most likely to be suspect in both contexts. In that case, these persons adjust to marginal status in both settings, but their primary interest is occupational. Success in administration means that ethnicity is secondary but ever present.

As has been seen, minorities are seldom sponsored into positions and are seldom supported by superiors. The overall result is that most minorities' top position is the principalship. However, for those who wish to advance beyond the principalship, sponsorship of some sort is imperative.

Central Office

As was said earlier, central office positions are granted as rewards for accomplishments in school sites or projects. Minorities may gain access to the central office in one of two ways. If the person has been successful in generating and increasing funds and proven to possess agreeable interpersonal skills as director of special projects, he may be advanced to assistant superintendent. During the period of this study, out of eight directors, three became assistant superintendents. These are persons who are personable, well known in the school district and who have developed a community following.

The more common way to obtain an associate, assistant, or deputy superintendency is to have had experience in the secondary schools. While there, the superintendent may be impressed with the improvements at the

secondary school, and the person may be invited into the central office. Minorities are likely to move from a secondary principalship in one school district to a central office post in another. This is so because the most likely sponsor is the superintendent, and the "safest" referral system is to another superintendent who brings the minority person in as an outsider.

This raises the important issue about minorities and their advancement pattern. Whereas internal advancement is common in school districts for whites, for minorities, it is the opposite. One reason is the tenuous sponsorship system to which they're attached. As one superintendent said,

> I know Rafael can be successful. He's one of the brightest persons I've ever known, but this school district is suspicious of Hispanics. I would be pressured to consider another person. Rafael would be pressured to do more and better and it just wouldn't work as well. So, what I've done is refer him to Sun City's School District. I know the superintendent there. He's been impressed with Rafael. Rafael will be a newcomer and pressures will be more in line with those of a newcomer, rather than those related to his ethnicity (February 1978).

Minorities are also aware of this problem, and one assistant superintendent described his move in this way, "I would have problems with my credibility in the other district. They know me as a Black activist. They're still a little suspicious. In this district, I have a lot to learn and people will gradually learn to work with me and accept me" (March 1978).

As central office line administrators, minorities continue to change in accordance to the organizational demands. Their personal attitudes adjust in order to give primacy to the occupation. Even as they continue to view themselves as separate from others, their perception of what organizational success entails sharpens. For example, one of the minority assistant superintendents who'd just been a secondary principal states,

> As soon as I learned to view myself as others do in this context, I was able to make decisions regarding my work in an entirely different way. I know most of my colleagues do not think I'm equal to them. In that case, their treatment of me will be different. I must deal with that. I know what I can do. I know I can do it better than most. My job is to prove it publicly. As long as I keep that in mind I can continue to advance. Not without pain, but I won't be stopped (December 1976).

By the time minorities obtain central office positions, several pronounced differences between the groups are evident. This is a result of differences in their socialization processes. For example, as minorities participate with others, they are reticent to share experiences. There are two reasons for this. First, their experiences are likely to deal with their ethnic group since they tend to head schools with heavy ethnic enrollments. Recounting experiences would just exacerbate the stereotyping that is already prevalent. Second, one of the functions of sharing experiences or recounting "war stories" is to learn from others. In the case of minorities, other administrators aren't particularly interested in "those schools." They don't view minorities' experiences as relevant to their work. Therefore, minorities do not discuss their work experiences with others.

Rather, minority males participate in a very different way. They serve as integraters, synthsizers and ice-breakers. They do this by applying witticisms, wise sayings, proverbs, jokes, and one-liners to the regular conversation being carried on by the school administrators. For example, one director collected quotations which he kept augmenting in a binder. This practice permits minority males to participate easily in a group. It serves to relax other male administrators, and it detracts from the seriousness of intereacting with a minority. Successful minority administrators

reflect a gregarious, cheerful, charming, and easy-going personality. Some examples of one-liners are:

Every successful person has to contend with approval.

We are all born free but raised in captivity.

Use the rear view mirror only for reference.

Big shots are little shots who keep on shooting.

Never look back unless you intend to go that way.

Minority women behave more like white women than minority males. They are excluded from informal conversational exchange, they don't joke, and in general maintain a very proper low profile.

Hispanic Female Administrators

Because this researcher was particularly interested in determining the participation of Hispanic female administrators, 55 were selected for further study. Out of these, 16 were elementary principals, 3 mid-high principals, 2 specialists, 20 special projects coordinators, 10 special projects specialists, and 4 special projects supervisors.

As can be seen from this breakdown, most of the Hispanic women are located in special projects administration. The greater number of those remaining are elementary principals. Out of the three mid-high principals, two became assistant superintendents during the course of the study.

Out of the 55 administrators, 10 had been hired as school teachers before the mid-sixties and afterwards. Therefore, this group is comparatively young, particularly in regards to white women administrators. Whereas Gross and Trask (1976) report four-fifths of their sample of women being fifty years of age or older, and Drust's (1976) study showed that the

California women administrators' average age was 52, 50% of the Hispanic administrators were under 39 years of age, and 85% were under 50 years of age.

Those women who had been hired prior to the mid-sixties were holding teaching and elementary principalships at that time. During the conflict of the mid-sixties, one elementary principal became a mid-high principal. The other two mid-high principals came directly from the classroom. In all of these cases, the women were hired to "straighten out the school."

Other posts which were available to those teaching prior to the mid-sixties were in special projects. Some of them became supervisors and coordinators. Two elementary principals remianed as elementary principals, but were transferred from school to school within the school district as their need for "straightening out" the schools arose. One of these principals held a post in three different schools during the course of the study.

Since most of the Hispanic female school administrators were hired during the mid-sixties and afterwards, they were inclined to have entered the school district by other means besides the regular teaching credentialed way. Some entered without a teaching credential, obtained it during their stay, and ultimately also obtained their administrative credential.

Those Hispanic female administrators in special projects have experienced different stresses from those holding the regular administrative positions. Since these women have not departed from children or instruction or their ethnic group, their perspective about education and their place within the school organization has not had to be as greatly modified.

Rather, the difficulties they encounter in their work are related to providing better educational and instructional services to students. In conjunction with their concern, they are also aware of their peculiar status within the school district. They realize they are not part of the regular school faculties' social systems. They also realize they may not be receiving their due share as participating members of the organization. In general, these problems are resolved by concentrating on minority students' concerns. They do this by allocating time, energy, and resources to their students.

In contrast, Hispanic female principals find themselves heading institutions which are in serious trouble. Moreover, these principals are assigned to these schools to improve conditions which range from physical deterioration to student apathy and/or destructiveness. Not to be discounted is the fact that the existing reaching personnel is predominantly non-Hispanic, unhappy, and on occasion alienated. This means that Hispanic female administrators are viewed as "warriors" who bring about stability to minority schools.

There are several aspects to the practice of assigning these women to these particular schools. First, central office school officials are likely to relinquish all responsibilities for the school to the minority person. For example, an elementary female principal said,

> I wanted to host a back-to-school night in the fall. I invited the superintendent and school board members. The superintendent said, "Look, it's your school, they're your people. You speak their language, you know their ways. You can have the whole affair! I'd attend, but I think I might intrude. It's better if you do everything by yourself." None of the school officials showed up (April 1975).

Second, school recognition is resisted. For example, a mid-high school principal recounted that her students had performed outstandingly in some

swimming, track, and gymnastic meets. She asked for central office recognition. None was granted. Later, the band and chorus were awarded recognition for their work. No one from the central office acknowledged it.

These principals feel that they and their schools are not perceived as are others. Their belief is that the school officials' concerns are to contain the schools. A deputy superintendent stated,

> When those schools do something outstanding it is just a fluke. You can't depend on those communities or those students. Moreover, the principal has just been lucky. She has a good school now because there aren't any problems (March 1976).

Hispanic female administrators are tokens in the general structure of school administration. The organizational expectations require a repertoire of behaviors which don't alarm others because of their stereotyped preconceptions, but at the same time display skills and competencies in school administration. The women who are successful are extremely wary and highly possessive of their positions. They view themselves realistically in comparison to the rest of the school organization. They remain ever ready to defend themselves and fight for their positions. In addition, they develop loyalty and tenacity towards their work and the organization. They learn to assess what is possible and pace themselves to accomplish what is necessary.

The other group of Hispanic female administrators is made up of very young, inexperienced persons. As they assume their positions as elementary principals, their roles are prescribed more definitely than for others. First, their assignments are to minority schools. These assignments are granted with the hope that they contain their schools. As is true with minority males, they are not expected to retain their positions for long nor are they expected to become administrators and managers. Second, these

individuals are assigned by community groups, the school board, and superintendent in concert. There is no one person or group of persons who can be identified as a supporting system. One of their most traumatic experiences is to realize that they can call on no one to help them if they run into a problem. One newly appointed elementary principal related,

> I had been at my job two weeks. I received this memo from the central office to submit a physical plant inventory. I could not find one. I realized I had accepted the post without asking for one. I now had to produce one. I called another principal who I thought would understand my problem. He just laughed and said, "Good luck." I called on the other minority principals. They either said they didn't know what I was talking about or they just laughed. Finally, I called the central office. They said, "Well, if you can't find a copy of a previous plant inventory, you'll have to conduct one now and provide it for us." Later, I found out that that school had not had an inventory submitted since 1965 (January 1979).

Third, because these women are on their own, there is no one after whom they can model their behavior. Senior male administrators either totally ignore them so that no one ever knows the extent of their abilities and capacities, or else they are severely taunted and teased. The point is that these persons do not have the opportunities to learn to be administrators under the same conditions that others do. For this reason, they are the most likely candidates to be unable to retain their administrative positions and thereby advance at the same rate as others.

Hispanic female administrators change in three fundamental ways. First, they must change their perspectives about the cultural role of women. Second, they must change their views about the organization as they progress from children and instruction to adults and administration concerns. Third, they must change regarding the way they obtain and hold their administrative positions. Skills, knowledge, and experience are not adequate. They must develop a possessiveness and loyalty to their work which will support them as they battle for retention of their administrative positions.

The Superintendent

This position eludes most minorities. In this case, only one person was promoted to the superintendency during the period of the study. The other three superintendents were already in that post. Of these, only one remains as the superintendent of the same school district. One of the other two changed superintendencies to a different district and within two years left to accept a state appointment. The other superintendent left the superintendency of his school district during the last year of this study to accept a federal post in Washington, D.C.. All of these superintendents have doctorates from prestigious universities. With the exception of one, all have headed school districts of 20,000 or more population.

These persons have reconciled the organizational demands with their personal needs. One of the minority superintendents said,

> It took me a long time to realize I am in this alone. I am responsible for keeping my job and there are many who want it. I also learned that every time I admit some weakness, someone will use it to downgrade me. I spend a great deal of my time seeing to it that I remain strong, that the school district does those things which reflect its strength and that everyone is systematically reminded about this. The main reason I have to think this way is because whereas other administrators are expected to be successful, I am not. My burden is to prove I am not a failure (September 1977).

Conclusion

There are very few minorities in educational administration. Additionally, those few are concentrated in schools and school districts where their ethnic group is dominant. There are several reasons why this pattern persists.

First, minorities are placed in minority schools to provide role models for their group. Second, minorities are expected to teach those areas which are connected to their ethnic group. Third, in order to maintain a linkage between the ethnic group and the school, a substructure is created for minorities. This structure is institutionalized as special projects. Within this, minorities are advanced from teaching to various supervisory and administrative positions. The top office in this unit is the directorship. Aside from this post, all other positions are limited in opportunities and the accumulation of power. The directorship provides a rare opportunity for movement to an assistant superintendency.

Minority principals are placed in minority schools. As heads of these schools, they are perceived and treated differently from the other principals and school administrators. The predisposition to limit minority administrators to minority schools leads to a continuing separation between them.

Beyond contributing to separate groups of administrators, minorities are also denied the same socialization processes others undergo. This difference subsequently leads to minority males participating in a limited fashion. On a formal basis, they provide the expertise regarding minority issues. On an informal basis, they serve to integrate, summarize, and synthesize conversations, shared experiences, and "war stories" presented by the white male leaders in witticisms, one-liners, and quotations.

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